

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-20

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FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5366

INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY LIMA

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONTEVIDEO 3037

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, PFOR, UY, XR

SUBJ: THE HARDENING LINE AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS--

NOW A REGIONAL APPROACH?

REF: MVD 2944 (NOTAL)

CINCSO FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: RECENT EVENTS IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE HAVE ENCOURAGED URUGUAY TO TAKE AN INCREASINGLY HARDER LINE TOWARDS THE COMMUNISTS ON BOTH THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL SCENES. URUGUAYANS, WHO HAD FELT SOMEWHAT ISOLATED IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO COUNTER COMMUNIST PRESSURE, NOW APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE IN THE MAINSTREAM OF EVENTS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE RESULT WILL BE NOT ONLY MORE RIGID ANTI-MARXISM ON THE PART OF THE GOU BUT ALSO AN ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING A COORDINATED REGIONAL APPROACH TO THE
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"COMMUNIST PROBLEM".

2. IN RECENT YEARS URUGUAY HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING TO COPE WITH INCREAS-
ING INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNISTS AND OTHER RADICAL LEFTISTS WHICH
INCLUDED VIRTUAL COMMUNIST CONTROL OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND
THE LABOR MOVEMENT. FINALLY, FACED WITH AN OFFENSIVE OF TERRORIST
VIOLENCE AND A COURT SYSTEM THAT DARED NOT DEAL WITH URBAN GUERRILLAS,

THE GOU, IN SEPTEMBER 1971, UNLEASHED ITS ARMED FORCES. THIS ACT
LED TO INCREASED MILITARY INFLUENCE AND TO A WEAKENING OF THE
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER, SINCE JUNE, CIVILIAN-MILITARY
RELATIONSHIPS HAVE STABILIZED TO A DEGREE AND A BEGINNING MADE TO
COPE WITH NATIONAL PROBLEMS. WHAT MIGHT APPEAR TO OUTSIDERS TO
BE REPRESSIVE MEASURES HAVE BEEN IN MANY URUGUAYAN EYES ATTEMPTS
TO CONTROL EXCESSES SUCH AS: 1) A LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH CALLED SO
MANY STRIKES THAT WORKERS LITERALLY DID NOT GET A FULL PAY CHECK FOR
YEARS AND IRREPARABLE DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE ECONOMY; 2) A
UNIVERSITY FROM WHICH VIRTUALLY ALL BUT MARXISTS PROFESSORS HAD BEEN
REMOVED AND IN WHICH CLASSROOMS HAD BECOME MARXIST TRAINING
GROUNDS; AND 3) A SCHOOL SYSTEM CHARACTERIZED BY RIOTS, POLITICAL
ASSEMBLIES AND TURBULENCE. EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THESE EXCESSES
HAVE WON POPULAR ACCEPTANCE AS INDICATED BY OUR CONTACTS, MONTHLY
GALLUP POLLS AND THE RECEPTION GRANTED THE PRESIDENT IN PUBLIC
APPEARANCES. THE FEELING AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC APPEARS TO BE
ONE OF ACCEPTING WITH RESIGNATION MEASURES WHICH IT AGREES SIMPLY
HAD TO BE TAKEN.

3. A FEW WEEKS AGO URUGUAYAN ARMY CHIEF GENERAL CHIAPPE RETURNED
FROM THE CARACAS MEETING OF COMMANDERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES
BITTER OVER THE LACK OF SUPPORT FOR A STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST RESOLU-
TION. NOT EVEN BRAZIL OR PARAGUAY SEEMED TO HIM TO BE TAKING A STRONG
ENOUGH STANCE IN THAT FORUM. URUGUAYAN OFFICIALS GENERALLY BELIEVED
THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD SIMPLY DID NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT THEY HAD
GONE THROUGH AND WHAT THEY WERE TRYING TO DO. THE PRES AND OTHER
NATIONAL FIGURES REPEATEDLY TOOK PAINS TO EXPLAIN THEIR ACTIONS (MVD
A-122, A-127). NEVERTHELESS, THERE WAS NO THOROUGHGOING CRACKDOWN
ON THE LEFT.

4. DURING THE PAST TWO WEEKS DRAMATIC CHANGES TOOK PLACE IN CHILE
AND ARGENTINA AND THEIR IMPACT HAS BEEN FELT IN URUGUAY. FIRST,
THERE WERE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE CHILEAN AND URUGUAYAN MILITARY.
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THEN THE GOU SUSPENDED OPERATIONS OF A COMMUNIST DAILY AND
RADIO STATION AND IS BRINGING THEIR PRINCIPALS BEFORE MILITARY COURTS,

THE FIRST INSTANCE IN WHICH CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS ARE BEING INSTITUTED
FOR VIOLATION OF CENSORSHIP DECREES (MVD 2944). IMMEDIATELY
THEREAFTER THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERED "THE SITUATION
RESULTING FROM RECENT POLITICAL EVENTS IN SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES",
(MVD 2944) AND THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR WAS ADMONISHED FOR PUBLICA-

TION OF AN EMBASSY BULLETIN CRITICIZING THE CHILEANS (MVD 2943) AND WARNED THAT HE WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONSEQUENCES IF THERE WERE A REPITITION.

5. PRESS RELEASES REPORTED THAT FONMIN BLANCO, WHILE IN THE U.S., HAD EMPHASIZED URUGUAY'S HARDENING POSITION AGAINST MARXIST INFILTRATION IN LATIN AMERICA, ADDING THAT, "WE WILL MAINTAIN THIS LINE IN ALL INTERNATIONAL FORA."

6. EVENTS IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE HAVE ENCOURAGED URUGUAY TO FOLLOW ITS ANTI-COMMUNIST PREDISPOSITION MUCH MORE OPENLY. IN A SENSE, URUGUAY MOVED FROM SEMI-ISOLATION IDEOLOGICALLY TO BEING ONE OF THE BOYS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE. THE CLUB MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TO INCLUDE BRAZIL, PARAGUAY AND BOLIVIA, IN ADDITION TO CHILE AND ARGENTINA. GIVEN THE CHANGES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, URUGUAY FEELS FREE, PERHAPS COMPELLED, TO TAKE A STRONGER STAND. IT HAD TAKEN A RELATIVELY FIRM LINE BECAUSE OF ITS EXPERIENCE WITH TERRORISM,

ITS IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTION AND THE FACT THAT ITS MILITARY INCLUDES SOME MILITANT ANTI-COMMUNISTS. NOW, HOWEVER, A MUCH HARDER LINE IS BEING PURSUED BECAUSE: 1) THE URUGUAYAN MILITARY LOOKS WITH OPEN APPROVAL AT CHILE'S MOVES AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS; 2) THE GOU IS ASSURED OF INCREASED SUPPORT FROM ITS NEIGHBORS IN THEOAS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA; 3) URUGUAY HAS NO INTENTION OF AGAIN BECOMING THE SOUTHERN CONE'S SAFE-HAVEN FOR COMMUNISTS; AND 4) URUGUAYANS FEEL A CULTURAL AFFINITY TOWARDS CHILE AND ARGENTINA (LESS SO TOWARDS BRAZIL) AND HAVE A NEW SENSE OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THEIR COURSE.

7. WHILE URUGUAY WILL NOT FOLLOW ANY OTHER "MODEL" BLINDLY, IT WILL DRAW ON THE EXPERIENCES OF ITS NEIGHBORS, SOME OF WHOM WILL BE ONLY TOO ANXIOUS TO PROVIDE "GUIDELINES" AND ASSISTANCE. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE ARGENTINE EMBASSY HERE THAT THE NEXT ARGENTINE CONFIDENTIAL

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AMBASSADOR TO URUGUAY WILL BE A MILITARY OFFICER. BRAZIL RECENTLY HAS EXTENDED GENEROUS CREDITS TO THE URUGUAYANS FOR MILITARY VEHICLES AND RESCHEDULED DEBTS FOR THE GOU. WITH THE ADVENT OF THE JUNTA IN CHILE, THE URUGUAYAN AIR FORCE SENT SOME SUPPLIES TO CHILE. THERE HAS FOLLOWED A SERIES OF EXCHANGE VISITS BETWEEN THE CHILEAN AND URUGUAYAN MILITARY, WHICH MAY HAVE RESULTED IN AN OFFER TO ASSIST THE GOC IN DEALING WITH URBAN TERRORISM (SANTIAGO'S 4677). ALL-IN-ALL, THE VIEW FROM MONTEVIDEO WOULD SUGGEST NOT ONLY A MORE RIGID ANTI-MARXISM ON THE PART OF THE GOU BUT ALSO AN ATTEMPT AT ACHIEVING A COORDINATED REGIONAL APPROACH TO THE "COMMUNIST PROBLEM".
SIRACUSA

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